

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"At the last election, I was scarcely acquainted with Sir F. Burdett; the support I gave him then, arose entirely from an approbation of his public conduct, but since that time I have had the means of learning his private character, and I take upon myself to say, that a man more exemplary in all the relations and duties of life, never existed in any country at any time;—he is pure from every stain;—he was a good son;—he is a most affectionate husband and father;—a most valuable friend;—a most exemplary member of society;—and all these virtues of private life he carries into his public conduct, with the warmest patriotism and the most constitutional zeal for the rights of Englishmen, he possesses the most dutiful affection and loyalty to our beloved King. I speak from the bottom of my heart, and if the Sheriffs will administer the oath, I will swear to the truth of what I say. I do not know in this world a purer or more unblemished character, or a man of more public and private worth than Sir F. Burdett. If he has a single fault, it is that in the generosity of a sanguine mind, he expects to find more virtue than belongs to these depraved times, and through that virtue to obtain all the happiness for his fellow subjects that the principles of our free government are calculated in themselves to confer; but in the ardour of this expectation, I do not know of a single act of his life that detracts from his reputation, or ought to lower him in the esteem of any good or candid man. I have served with Sir F. Burdett in Parliament, and I have observed his conduct there; he never gave a vote but for the constitution; for peace, for morals, and for the happiness of the human race."—MR. PETER MOORE'S Speech, on the 23d of July, 1804, on the Hustings at Brentford; as given in the Morning Chronicle.

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## WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

It appears to me, that a faithful account of the proceedings, and of the conduct of different persons engaged, in this contest, must be not only interesting at the present moment, but must unavoidably become of the greatest utility in future; therefore I shall now continue and conclude the account, from page 760 of the preceding Number. And this is the more necessary as the daily newspapers, with here and there a trifling exception, have, from the beginning of the contest to the end of it, not only excluded every thing favourable to the cause of Mr. Paull and unfavourable to the ministerial candidates; but have been constantly filling their columns with the most barefaced falsehoods, evidently intended to leave upon the mind of the nation an impression exactly the contrary to what ought to be left there relative to an event, which, if I am not amongst the most mistaken of men, will be attended with consequences the most important and beneficial to the country.—The topics upon which I propose to touch are numerous; and as it would be difficult, especially with the little time that I have before me, to connect them by natural and easy transitions, I think it best to let them stand in a detached form, and in separate paragraphs, beginning with

MR. PETER MOORE.—This gentleman, who has been re-elected for Coventry, did, as the reader has already been informed, propose Mr. Sheridan at Covent Garden. How he was hissed, what groans and what other marks of public scorn and contempt, his speech, upon that occasion, drew forth, have

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already been spoken of; and, his name is only introduced once more for the purpose of giving me an opportunity of calling the attention of the reader to the speech which he made in nominating Sir Francis Burdett, in the year 1804, as a member for the county of Middlesex, and an extract from which I have now taken for my motto. That speech, which was no momentary effusion of enthusiasm, but which was afterwards written out with his own hand, and, at his special instance, published in the Morning Chronicle; that speech, in which he proceeded on to eulogize every act of Sir Francis Burdett's life; that speech I beg the reader to compare with the envenomed slanders against that same Sir Francis Burdett, now published in that same Morning Chronicle, under the name of that same Mr. Peter Moore! Whence has this change proceeded? Not from any change in the principles, or in the language of Sir Francis Burdett, from whose unshaken and unalterable mind, have proceeded, upon this occasion, precisely the same sentiments that he uniformly and openly professed at the time when he was the object of Mr. Moore's unqualified praise and admiration. No; not from any change in the principles or the language of Sir Francis Burdett; but, from a change in the interested views of Mr. Moore, has this his palpable and odious tergiversation proceeded. At the time when he eulogized Sir Francis Burdett, he saw no prospect, even the most distant, of obtaining for himself either pension or place; and, therefore, he scrupled not to join Sir Francis in condemning the giving of places and pensions to members of

the House of Commons: but now, having, ever since his friends came into power, been seeking a place; having worried Mr. Fox to obtain for him a place of great emolument in India; having, as appears from a letter, which he has repeatedly shown, from Lord Holland, been desired to wait with patience, until a place can be found for him; having evidently become a dependent upon the ministry; this important change in his situation and his views having taken place, he is become the advocate for bestowing the public money upon member. of the House of Commons, he is become the friend and the lofty eulogist of those men and those principles that he formerly so furiously assailed, and he is become the enemy and the furious assailant of the man and of the principles that he formerly eulogized in so lofty a strain.

MR. WHITBREAD, whose laudable and powerful exertions, in the case of Lord Melville, have so often been a subject of our praise, but whose motives, or whose firmness, were exposed to suspicion by his ready acquiescence in the bill of indemnity for Mr. Pitt (who had fully participated in the worst part of all that was alledged against Lord Melville) and by his subsequent silence upon the charges preferred against Lord Wellesley; this Mr. Whitbread has now joined with Mr. Peter Moore in opposing Mr. Paull, the accuser of Lord Wellesley, the only openly alledged ground of this opposition being, that Mr. Paull professes to have adopted the principles of Sir Francis Burdett.—Mr. Whitbread, like Mr. Peter Moore, was formerly, and until very lately, a warm friend and supporter of Sir Francis Burdett; and, though he has, in the letter inserted in the preceding Number, stated a difference in principles *now* to exist between himself and that honourable Baronet, he has not ventured, like Mr. Peter Moore and the acute Lord William Russell (who is also a Lord of the Admiralty) to accuse Sir Francis with “apostacy,” nor, indeed, with any change of principle or of opinion.—Mr. Whitbread’s sole ground of complaint against Sir Francis appears to be, that the latter has declared, that the *servants of the Crown* ought not to be the *representatives of the people*; or, at least, of the people of large cities, or of counties. This, in the eye of Mr. Whitbread, seems to be a most pernicious doctrine. But, I think, the reader will, with me, be of opinion, that Mr. Whitbread has been most completely answered by W. P. S. in page 763 of the last Register, and by MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, in the present sheet.—

The truth is, that Mr. Whitbread, like Mr. Peter Moore, has been *looking for a place himself*. He has, indeed, not yet actually taken a place, or a peerage. We have, by our timely alarms, made him desist from his pursuit; but, like a rook scared from a wheat-field, he now sits snug amongst the branches of the neighbouring tree, his eyes still fixed upon the golden grain, and only waiting till our backs are turned, to drop down again and fall to his meditated feast.—There are few persons, whose rise to public approbation has been more slow, or whose fall from that approbation has been more rapid, than that of Mr. Whitbread. He was sixteen years in parliament before he obtained any thing worthy of being called public notice; and after having obtained it, he had not the wisdom to preserve it much above sixteen months: so that, to use an old figure particularly applicable to his case, he has, with respect to reputation, been saving at the spiggot and spending at the bung-hole.

THE DAILY PRESS has, during this contest, been distinguished by every species of partiality. When we consider, that some of these prints are the property of Companies of speculators, and others the property of place-men, or pensioners, or place and pension-hunters, we need not be surprised at this partiality.—I have frequently had to notice the conduct of Mr. Perry, the principal proprietor of the Morning Chronicle, who, I observed, in my last Number, made exorbitant charges for the insertion of every thing sent to it in behalf of Mr. Paull. I stated, that for the then last advertisement of that gentleman *eight guineas* had been charged! This was a mistake, owing to the clerk having placed the wrong sums opposite the names of the different papers. It was the *Morning Post* that charged eight guineas; but, the Morning Chronicle charged *five guineas*, which charge, as the reader will easily conceive, must have been intended to operate as an *exclusion*. In fact, there is no species of misrepresentation, to which the Editor of this paper, Mr. SPANKIE, as well as his senior partner, Mr. Perry, have not had recourse. I was in hopes, that, in spite of all the degrading influence of ministerial temptation, I should always have had to speak well of Mr. Spankie, who is a man of real talents, and who, for a long while, did appear to have resisted that influence; but, the love of place has evidently taken possession of his heart: he is gone; and now he will, for the rest of his life, be numbered with the herd of hirelings.—This

gentleman (for such I cannot refrain from yet calling him) has, within these few days, *seriously asserted what he knew to be false.* He has, in his own department of the paper, informed his readers, that I, who was *here* opposing Sir Samuel Hood because he was a Pittite, had stayed in Hampshire to vote for Mr. Chute and Sir Henry Mildmay, two Pittites; and this assertion he made with the *certain knowledge*, that I came to town a fortnight before the election in Hampshire began, and that I had never quitted the town, but was still in it at the moment when he made that assertion. To the statements of a man who can so completely set truth at defiance, what credit can any one give?—Had I been in Hampshire, and had I had a vote to give, I certainly would have given it to those gentlemen; not, because they were Pittites, but because *to vote for them was to vote against the direct interference of the ministry in imposing members upon the county*; to which I will add, that I should have been strongly inclined to vote for them on another account, namely, because they were not placemen or pensioners; and, though Mr. Chute told the freeholders that he had always been attached to Mr. Pitt, he had great merit with me for having been a member of parliament sixteen years, without ever having asked or received a single favour of any kind from any minister. With equal truth Mr. Spankie has asserted, that I have been “seen walking arm-in-arm in the streets of Winchester with Old George Rose;” but, as to the accusation, I would willingly walk with Old George Rose or Young George Rose, or any body else that would walk with me, and that would accept of my aid, in any way, in opposing an act of ministerial dictation, such as that which Hampshire has witnessed.—But, such men as Mr. Spankie is now become always leave *principle* out of the question, or he would have perceived that my conduct in both places was perfectly consistent; for, without reference to the candidates, I was, as far as I was able, exerting myself in Hampshire and in Westminster to prevent the servants of the Crown from forcing representatives upon the people.—To return to the conduct of the daily prints. This same Morning Chronicle has quoted, from the Register of four years back, a passage wherein I express a wish, that “what is called the liberty of the press may be annihilated.” But, the candid writer forgot to take in the context, which would have shewn, that I had then been complaining of the same base partiality in the press that I so justly complain of now; that I had been observing upon the pernicious conse-

quences of a press, bought up with the public money, and sending forth falsehoods instead of truths; that I had been complaining of a press which was free only so far as it tended to deceive the people by its misrepresentations, but was completely enslaved as to all other purposes; a press, the main, and, indeed, the only object of whose conductors was, to get places or pensions, or pay, by their publications; *such liberty of the press I wished to see destroyed then, and I wish to see it destroyed now*, though, while taxes can be collected, this wish will not rise into any thing like expectation.—The daily papers, without a single exception, have been leagued together against Mr. Paull and his cause. There is no species of partiality; of base and scandalous misrepresentation and falsehood, of which they have not been guilty. It has cost him and his friends a hundred pounds to procure publicity to contradictions of the sheer calumnious falsehoods, promulged against them in these venal journals. And, as to the proceedings at the hustings and elsewhere, relative to the election, their subaltern hirelings seem to have attended for the purpose of hearing and seeing what was said and done, only that their employers might be enabled to make a representation as near as possible the exact contrary of the truth. They have, as was before observed, all along carefully suppressed the circumstance of Mr. Paull being drawn home every evening by thousands of the people. But, suppression is amongst their trifling sins. When the elder Sheridan has been hissed, hooted and groaned off the hustings; when he has been cruelly spit upon in his passage to and fro; when even the children in the street, of six or seven years of age, have, like wicked little rogues, pelted him with orange peel and dirt; after a scene like this, the hireling prints have, the next morning, represented him as having been received with *rapturous applause!* So that, were it not for the weekly news-papers, some of which are conducted with perfect impartiality, it would be impossible for the truth, respecting this election, to find its way to the other parts of the kingdom.—But, there is one particular and marked instance of the partiality of the daily press that I must notice a little in detail.—The public saw Mr. Whitbread's Letter to Sir Francis Burdett in *all* the daily papers. Of the *nick of time* when that letter was inserted, and of the evident motives of the writer, notice has before been taken. To this letter Major Cartwright wrote the excellent answer, which will be found in a subsequent

page of this present sheet. This answer was sent for insertion to every daily paper in London; because one object of it was, to counteract the effect which Mr. Whitbread obviously wished his letter to produce against Sir Francis Burdett. At all the papers, *except two*, it was positively refused admission upon any terms. An obscure print, called the **BRITISH PRESS**, demanded *ten guineas* for the admission; and the **ORACLE**, after having kept it back several days, did, at last, insert it.—Such is the London Daily Press; and, is there one good man upon the face of the earth; is there one man, who loves truth and fair-dealing, that does not wish to see such a press annihilated? The mischiefs that this press have done to the country are indescribable. Not only is no man in power afraid of a press which he can at all times bribe; but, such a press is his best ally. The people, taught by this press, seldom have an opinion of their own. They reject the evidence of their senses; and, thus, is the nation led along from calamity to calamity without ever having a true notion as to the cause of those calamities. In short, as the press, in the hands of free and independent men, is one of the greatest of national blessings, so, in the hands of slaves and hirelings, it is the greatest of all national curses.

**THE OFFER**, which, as was stated in my last Number, Mr. Sheridan asserted to have been made by me, previous to the election, for Mr. Paull to split votes with Mr. Sheridan, has been *proved* never to have been made. After the reader has reverted to page 760, I beg leave to inform him, that Mr. Sheridan, *after he knew my Register was gone to the press*, published, in the Morning Chronicle, my first letter, which will be found at the bottom of page 757, and which letter he had before said implied a proposition to split votes with him, a proposition which he further said, *he rejected WITH SCORN*. The reader was convinced of the falsehood of this by Mr. Sheridan's answer to me, which will be found in page 758; and, to give him an idea of Mr. Sheridan's candour, I need only say, that Mr. Sheridan took special care *not to publish* this his letter, in the Morning Chronicle!—In addition to my letter, Mr. Sheridan published a note from Mr. Paull to Mr. Finnerty, which letter, together with the substance of a short conversation between Mr. Finnerty, Mr. Paull, and myself, Mr. Sheridan *extracted* from Mr. Finnerty, in the first instance, *without drawing any attention to publish them!* And yet, as the partisans of a man like this, who have the confidence to accuse

others of a breach of private confidence! By all these pitiful acts Mr. Sheridan has, however, gained nothing. The town was astonished, not at his falsehood, but at his folly, when, from his own publication, it was *clearly proved* that no offer of splitting votes had ever been made to him.—I mentioned in page 760, that **MR. RODWELL**, on the part of Mr. Sheridan, had made such an offer to Mr. Paull. The answer, which, by me, in behalf of Mr. Paull, was given to Mr. Rodwell, I have now obtained; and it was as follows: "Sir, Mr. Paull being engaged in matters previously before him, he requested me to say, in answer to your letter, signifying a wish on your part, that he would *couple himself with Mr. Sheridan*, that he has, from the beginning, publicly as well as privately, declared that he was not, and would not be connected with either of the other candidates, a declaration, which, for your satisfaction, he begs me now to repeat."

—Now, reader, observe, that Mr. Rodwell showed this letter to Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Peter Moore, the Chairman of his Committee; and, they have taken special care *not to publish it*; nay, to give another instance of the blessings of the liberty of the daily press, Mr. Rodwell sent the letter for publication in the *Morning Chronicle*; but, upon a shuffling pretext that the editor (Mr. Spankie) was *not to be seen*, it was *kept out of that paper!*

#### DUKE OF NORTHUMBRELAND'S LETTER.

—The public have seen a letter published in the news-papers, and signed by Mr. Sheridan, in which letter he denies, 1st, that he ever uttered, upon the hustings, any words disrespectful towards the Duke of Northumberland; and 2dly, that the Duke ever wrote, to any of the Electors of Westminster, any letter expressive of dislike to him, Mr. Sheridan.—The facts are these, 1st, that Mr. Stephenson, the vestry clerk of the parish of St. Margaret, read to me, before the election began, minutes, which he had made in his pocket book, of the contents of a letter from the Duke of Northumberland to some leading man in the parish, who, agreeably to the wishes of the Duke, had communicated the contents of the letter to the Church-wardens and overseers and to others of his friends in the parish, which contents, as read to me, in substance, were, that the Duke was highly offended that the ministers could find no other man than Mr. Sheridan to be the colleague of Earl Percy; that he could not bring himself to consent to his son's standing with such a man as Mr. Sheridan; and that, as he, the



Duke, did not like to declare open hostility against the ministers, he would not, upon this occasion, suffer his son to stand at all. The 2d fact is, that Mr. Sheridan, being told of this upon the hustings, in answer to a most insolent remark made by him respecting the low characters of Mr. Paul's supporters, said, in addressing himself to Mr. Powell, that, if the Duke of Northumberland were not *an old cripple and a dotard* he would chastise him for his letter; and, to the truth of this statement, Mr. Powell, who is Mr. Paul's solicitor and is well known to be a gentleman of undoubted veracity and honour, has authorized me to say, that he is, if required, ready to make oath. —The letter of the Duke of Northumberland, the terms of which I have *greatly softened*, is now in the possession of Mr. Harrison, a linen draper of Bridge Street Westminster; it was carefully read by Mr. Porter of Parliament Street, who has assured me that the contents are what I have described them; and, as Mr. Stevenson appeared to wish to shuffle out of his statement to me, Mr. Clarke of Dartmouth Street, who was present when Mr. Stevenson read his minutes, came to the Crown and Anchor, on the 19th instant, and there publicly declared, that the statement before made by me (exactly similar to that above made) was perfectly correct; and, moreover, that Mr. Stevenson had authorized me to make any use that I pleased of the information he had given me. —But, as the public have already a hundred times asked, *why does not Mr. Sheridan get the letter of the Duke published?* If it contains nothing disadvantageous to him, why not let the public see it? He knows better; and his friends participate in his prudence. Mr. Stevenson, who, at the time when he read me his notes, had no idea that the ministers would step forth to support Mr. Sheridan, has now shuffled, and most contemptibly shuffled. But, let Mr. Stephenson *publish his minutes*, then! Those minutes contain expressions beyond all measure more *harsh* than are contained in my account of them; and Mr. Stephenson well knows that I have kept far within the limits of truth. —In fact, Mr. Sheridan himself must be well acquainted with the contents of the Duke's letter; he is boiling with rage at those contents; but, though, in the heat of reply, he gave way to this rage upon the hustings, he, upon reflection, feels how dangerous it is for him to attempt to resent any thing coming from a supporter of the ministry. This he feels, too, is only a *little beginning*; a mere foretaste of that which is to come.

THE SHERIDANS AT STAFFORD. —This topic, which was brought forward by Mr. CLIFFORD, in a public meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on the 19th instant, I shall leave to Mr. Clifford himself, who, upon rising to give, as a toast, *the free and independent Electors of Stafford*, made the following speech, as reported in the Oracle of the 20th instant: —“Mr. Clifford rose to give a toast; but first he should call their attention to some circumstances that belonged to it, and observed, that for many years Mr. Sheridan had been returned member for Stafford. It had always been the pride of the electors of that town, to return a gentleman who had so long and so ably fought against corruption. But their minds were very much changed of late as to the conduct of Mr. Sheridan himself. Some time before the election, Mr. Thomas Sheridan, his son, went thither, and (sent the bell-man round) to call a meeting of the corporation, to return thanks to his father. When the meeting took place, although a very numerous one, *there was not a person to be found to make the motion*. Afterwards, when the election came on, Mr. Sheridan and his friends made inquiry concerning the circumstances of Mr. Mansel Phillips, one of the candidates. They found that a friend of that gentleman owed a bill of £200 to a tailor, and was in danger of being reduced to great difficulty, when Mr. Phillips passed his word for the payment of the bill, and saved his friend from a gaol. Mr. Phillips being thus responsible for the money, *they caused a writ to be sent from London, and had Mr. Phillips arrested upon it*. The writ was brought down by Major Downes, (the undertaker, and Major of the volunteers of whom Mr. Sheridan is COLONEL!) and executed, and a Mr. Burgess, Domestic Attorney to Mr. Sheridan, was the agent for carrying it into effect. Mr. Phillips, however, was bailed by some of his friends. Still the party of Sheridan found out another demand against him, and caused him to be arrested at the suit of Mr. Harvey Combe for £104, and Mr. Cocker, an intimate friend of Mr. Sheridan, and an attorney of the Whig Club, was the agent employed on that occasion. This Mr. Clifford considered a practice the most dangerous that could possibly take place to the liberties of the people, and the rights of election. It might be said that all this was done by the agents or friends of Mr. Sheridan, without his knowledge; but he must have had a suffi-

"cient power and controul over them, and  
 "he must be responsible for their acts.  
 "Notwithstanding all these attempts, the  
 "party of (Mr. Sheridan was unable to suc-  
 "ceed; the voters at Stafford were more  
 "than 600, and out of these Mr. Thomas  
 "Sheridan could obtain no more than 105."

—There needs no comment upon this. Let the Sheridans answer Mr. Clifford. But, I will just add, as another striking instance of the partiality and baseness of the daily press, that, though this was an election of great importance, not one of them, as far as I have been able to learn, has, even unto this day, *made any mention of its result!*

**HIGH BLOOD.**—During this contest, the most offensive, disgusting, and loathsome eruptions of *high blood* have broken out, on the side of the most noisy partizans of Mr. Sheridan and his *worthy* colleague. Upon all occasions, whether at the hustings or at dinners, they have talked of the low origin of Mr. Paull and of his friends; and have actually represented them as unfit to be heard, because they had no high blood in their veins. At one dinner, Mr. Sheridan gave, as a toast, his supporters, "*the Juvenile Nobility*," alluding to those high-blooded gentlemen, Mr. *Berkeley Croven*, Lord Petersham, Mr. *Barry*, Lord *Barrymore*, and some others; and, upon one occasion, he had the modesty to number, amongst the high-blooded gentry, *his own son Thomas* coupled with a Mr. *Mellish*, whom my readers have so frequently heard of upon the turf, and who seems to have carried court sycophancy farther than any other man, having actually *put on a pair of German whiskers*, which he constantly wears, with the view, it is said, of being *taken for a Hanoverian*, in which view, I, as an Englishman, most heartily wish he may succeed.—But, these pretensions to high blood, though excessively disgusting, might have passed away under our silent contempt, had not the insolence of the Younger Sheridan been too great to remain unresented.—At a dinner of Mr. Sheridan's friends, at the Crown and Anchor, on the 13th instant, Mr. Whitbread, according to a report of the speeches, in the Morning Chronicle of the 14th, paid some compliments to Mr. Paull for his conduct in the House of Commons, whereupon Mr. Thomas Sheridan, according to the said report, made use of the following words: "Mr. T. Sheridan thanked the meeting, and felt so invigorated by the several patriotic toasts which had been given, that he felt ready to canvass for almost a thousand votes. He differed from Mr. Whitbread in his

opinion of Mr. Paull so much that he was in doubt whether he would not raise him in the estimation of society by *kicking him out of it*."—Now, then, let us ask what we never should have asked, had we not been thus insulted in the person of Mr. Paull, *whence sprang the Sheridans?* The father of Mr. Paull, they tell us, was a *tailor*. Be it so; but the profession of a tailor is an useful one, a necessary one, and, as I have elsewhere observed, one held not in contempt by those of our kings, whose reigns added to, instead of diminishing the dominions and the glory of England; several of those kings having had their names inscribed as members of the Company of Tailors, while not one of them was ever known to associate with players and buffoons. The hired daily press has described Mr. HEWLINGS as a "*Feather-man*" and Mr. GIBBONS as a "*Commission-man*;" and, when the public consider how much public-spirit and talents have been displayed by these gentlemen during the contest, and how completely, in comparison with the former, the "*juvenile nobility*" sink into nothing; when they consider, that this gentleman, though the son of a miller, has rejected with disdain all the flatteries by which Mr. Sheridan and his aristocratic friends endeavoured to gain him over to their side; when the public consider this, they will not be surprised that he has been the object of abuse with the venal and envious proprietors and conductors of the daily press.—But, let us revert to the question: *whence sprang the Sheridans?* From a *play-actor*; from a person of that profession, (if it can be called a profession) the followers of which are, in our wise laws, considered and denominated *vagabonds*. Players, we all know, are not, except by special permission of the magistrate, allowed to exhibit their shews. By the laws of our country, written as well as unwritten, there at all times exists a general prohibition against them; and, in the cases where they are tolerated, the toleration proceeds from a maxim, that, since vicious propensities will exist in a luxurious state of society, it is better to indulge the frivolous vice of haunting play-houses than to expose society to the effects of vices of a more dangerous nature. The prohibition of the exercise of this calling is, therefore, the *rule*; the toleration of it, merely the *exception*; and most wise is the law, for, if there be any calling lower than all other callings; if there be any one beyond all comparison the most degrading, is it not that, wherein the operator, for the

purpose of obtaining food and raiment, exhibits his person, displays his limbs, and strains his voice for the amusement of the spectators, to whose occasional and often capricious hisses and peltings it is a part of his profession to submit with a smile and a bow!—But, there is something truly whimsical in this charge of *low birth*, preferred against us by the Sheridans and their friends. Lord Percy was nominated by one brewer and the nomination was seconded by another brewer; and how, I should be glad to know, does the vending of beer ennoble a man any more than the vending of feathers? Certain I am, that neither of those brewers (Messrs. *Whitbread* and *Elliott*) possesses one half of the public virtue, or of the talent, of Mr. *Hewlings*. Where then are their pretensions to superiority, and whence have they drawn the maxim, that it is impossible to rise in the scale of public estimation, except you can trace your exaltation to the paste and paint of the Green-Room, or to the grounds of a beer-barrel?—So much for the *high blood* of our adversaries; and let the public recollect, that it is those adversaries who have thrown the first stone.

THE SERVICES OF THE SHERIDANS, have, with what prudence we shall see, been a subject of boasting with their partizans.—Is there, in the whole kingdom, any man who can tell us of any single service, however small, that the elder Sheridan ever, at any time of his life, rendered to any part of the country? Yet, he is now in the receipt of about five thousand five hundred pounds a year, out of the public money, not including the occupation of a noble mansion, built and maintained at the public expense, and suppld, from the same source, with coals, candles, and furniture; while the younger Sheridan of whom we have never heard but in the circles of pleasure, is in the receipt of two thousand pounds a year as a *muster-master* in Ireland, which post might have served as the appropriate reward of some one of the numerous veterans, who are starving in the garrets of London.—Our adversaries may call us *jacobins*, or what else they please, but, is there one good man in the world, who will say that this is not reasonable ground of complaint? Will you, Mr. WINDHAM? I address myself to your wisdom and your virtue, always objects of my admiration; will you say, that upwards of eight thousand pounds a year ought to be drawn from the people in taxes to be heaped upon the Sheridans? Pray, Sir, tell me not of *compassion*; let me not be asked “what they are to do,” if they have not sa-

laries. The suffering people, from whom those salaries are drained, demand our compassion, and the maxims of virtuous men of all ages, the precepts of religion as well as of morality, command us to be just before we are generous.

CONCLUSION.—I shall now conclude with inserting our *Resolutions* and our *Toasts*, together with Mr. *Paul's Address* to the Electors, after the election. To these I shall, at all times refer, for the principles and the motives, by which we have been actuated, and as a faithful summary of the progress and result of the contest; a contest, to have taken some part in which will always be my pride; but which, as far as I am personally concerned, is now, except as to a future publication of names, completely at an end. I retire from it with an increased admiration of the good sense and public spirit of the Electors of Westminster; with the pleasure of having greatly augmented the number of the men whom I personally esteem, and amongst whom I have now the inexpressible satisfaction to include Mr. POWELL, to whose exertions we are indebted for so considerable a part of our success, whose rare assemblage of qualities and endowments have been a subject of such unanimous admiration and applause, and the honour of even a temporary acquaintance with whom is well worth all the toil and anxiety even of a Westminster Election.

*Resolutions moved by the Chairman, Sir Francis Burdett, and seconded by Mr. Gibbons, at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the 30th October, 1806.*

“Resolved—I. That, to be represented  
“in the legislature by men sent thither by  
“our own free choice, is our undoubted  
“right as Englishmen; is the only security  
“for the possession of our property, or the  
“enjoyment of our personal freedom; and  
“is, indeed, the only thing which distinguishes us from the subjects of a despot.  
“II. That duly impressed with the value of this, our constitutional privilege,—  
“and perceiving, with deep affliction, that,  
“through the influence of corruption and  
“venality, this inestimable privilege has, in  
“numerous instances, been undermined  
“and annihilated, it is, at this critical period, the duty of every body of men having a right to vote, and particularly of the  
“electors of this great and populous city, so  
“to exercise their franchise as to exhibit to  
“the rest of the kingdom an example of  
“good sense, of public spirit, of purity of  
“principle, and of resolution to maintain or  
“recover those rights, which, when consti-

"tutionally enjoyed, have always proved to be the greatest blessing to the people, and the surest foundation of the throne.

"III. That we have observed, with unfeigned sorrow, that out of the 651 members of the late House of Commons, a comparatively very small portion ever attended their duty; that nearly one half of the whole were placemen, dependent officers, and pensioners; that, it was but too often evident, that the motive of action was private interest rather than public good; and that, amongst those who were loudest in their professions of devotion to the king, the chief object was to render him, as well as his people, the slaves of a faction.

"IV. That in the parliamentary conduct of Mr. Paull, we have observed a constant attention to his duty, a strict adherence to every promise made to the public, a virtuous abhorrence of oppressors and peculators, an inflexible perseverance in the prosecution of delinquency, a rare instance of resistance to those temptations, by which so many other men have been seduced to betray their trust; and that upon these grounds, it is incumbent upon us, collectively and individually, to use all the legal means within our power to secure his election, and therein to do all that rests with us to preserve our country from a fate similar to that of so many European states, which have fallen an easy conquest to the enemy, only because the people had neither property nor liberty to defend."

*Toasts given by the Chairman, Major Cartwright, at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor, on Monday the 17th of November, 1806.*

"THE KING, THE LORDS, AND THE COMMONS.—May they mutually unite and co-operate in the adoption of all those measures that may be necessary for the restoration of the happiness and character, and for the preservation of the independence of the country, in spite of the machinations and the force of all its enemies, domestic as well as foreign.

"THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.—May the noble struggle which they are now making against the combined powers of official corruption, of bribery, of undue influence, of threats of every sort, serve as a practical example to electors in general; and may it speedily lead to a perfect restoration of the constitution, with respect to the representation of the people in the Commons House of Parliament."

"Mr. PAULL.—Thanks to him for having given us an opportunity of exercising our franchises, and of demonstrating our indignation at a proscription pronounced by a minister against an upright member of parliament."

"THE INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX.—May they never forget, that 100 mercenaries in the House of Commons are more dangerous to this country, than 500,000 armed mercenaries with the Emperor Napoleon at their head."

"Sir FRANCIS BURDETT.—The man of unblemished virtue, private as well as public; the sincere and disinterested friend of both king and people, and the dreaded enemy of hypocritical loyalists, and place-hunting patriots!

"THE NAVAL AND MILITARY DEFENDERS OF OUR COUNTRY.—May they be made to participate in all those rights which will render public liberty as dear to them as their military fame; and may their deeds in arms prove hereafter, as they have done heretofore, that we stand in no need of the introduction of foreign troops, an introduction so strictly forbidden by those laws which were bought by the best blood of our forefathers."

*Resolutions moved by the Chairman, MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, and seconded by Mr. GIBBONS, at a Meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, on the 19th of November, 1806.*

"RESOLVED, 1st, That our principles, relative to elections in general, and that the feelings and motives by which we were more especially actuated at the outset of the present contest, are fully set forth in our resolutions agreed to at this place on the 30th ultimo, and signed with the honoured name of our then chairman Sir Francis Burdett.

"2dly, That, proceeding in strict conformity with those principles and motives, we have from that hour unto the present, scrupulously abstained from every attempt at undue influence, making our appeal to the good sense, the integrity, and the public spirit of the electors; while, on the contrary, the partizans of our enemies have had recourse to every species of unfair means, whether of compulsion or of fraud.

"3dly, That, from a conviction of the unfitness of the other candidates to become the representatives of free and independent men, Mr. Paull has from the beginning, uniformly and explicitly declared

“ his fixed determination not to be connected with either, and that the coalition between Sir Samuel Hood and Mr. Sheridan did not take place, until after the former had obtained upwards of two thousand votes, under the effect of an opinion sedulously propagated, that he was not, and would on no account be, connected with the latter.

“ 4thly, That Mr. Paull has polled 4,481 votes of free and independent electors of Westminster, of which 3,077 have been whole votes (or plumpers); while Mr. Sheridan has polled only 955 whole votes, and Sir Samuel Hood 1,033; and that, from the combination of these latter candidates, we find that they each polled 3,240 split votes.

“ 5thly, That thus, notwithstanding the before mentioned unnatural and odious coalition; notwithstanding and union of the ministry, and of the whole of the aristocracy; notwithstanding the combined hostility of the tax gatherers, of the magistrates, and of the dependent clergy; notwithstanding the means growing out of the large subscriptions made for Mr. Sheridan, by swarms of placemen and pensioners, who have thus opposed the voice of the people with the money drawn from them in taxes; that, notwithstanding all the effects of this hideous and formidable combination against the free and independent part of the people, Mr. Paull has obtained, not only more suffrage than either of the other candidates, but more than was ever before obtained by any candidate for the representation of the City of Westminster.

“ 6thly, That, therefore, on a calm review of the progress, as well as of the result of this contest, we find solid reason to congratulate ourselves upon having obtained a triumph the most decisive over undue influence and political apostacy; a triumph which has struck terror to the hearts of our opponents, and which will not fail to encourage us in our future exertions against all the enemies of our king and country, domestic as well as foreign.

“ 7thly, That, for this glorious triumph, and for the fair prospect of better days which it presents to us, we are chiefly indebted to the integrity and perseverance of Mr. Paull, unto whom, therefore, we, in this public manner, express our warmest gratitude, and declare our unalterable attachment.”

*Mr. PAULL'S Address, after the Election, to the Free and Independent Electors of the*

*City and Liberties of Westminster, dated Nov. 20, 1806.*

“ Gentlemen,—After your having seen that, out of 14,717 votes, which have been polled at this election for the three candidates, 4481 were polled for me, of which 3077 were whole votes, or plumpers, while only 955 whole votes were polled for Mr. Sheridan, and 1033 for Sir Samuel Hood; after having seen, that, thus, through your virtuous independence of mind, I have obtained not only more suffrage than either of the other candidates, but more than was ever before obtained by any candidate for the representation of the City of Westminster; after having witnessed the general and inscribable indignation with which Mr. Sheridan was, on all occasions, received by the people, and their silent contempt towards the other candidate; after having seen these, as they call themselves, *favorite* candidates secretly and ingloriously sneaking from the hustings at the close of the poll, and retiring through a back door, to have the result of it declared out of the hearing of the people; after having seen them pursue their retreat through a private passage, to the spot where their theatrical car was provided for their reception; after having seen them conducted to the scene of their carousals surrounded by a host of constables and police officers, to whom, upon this special occasion, had been added the officers of the *Thames* Police, while troops were drawn up in the Park, by way of superabundant precaution, all which, nevertheless, was insufficient to shelter them from that mud, which the people considered as their most appropriate decoration; after having seen that, while they, who were formerly objects of popularity, were thus surrounded with apprehensions for their personal safety, and stunned with hisses and groans, I was conducted to my house amidst heart-cheering shouts of applause, that reverberated even to their distant and barricaded retreat; after having witnessed all this, need I remind you, gentlemen, that *ours is the triumph*, and *theirs the defeat*? For my share of this triumph, gentlemen, I am indebted to your good sense, public spirit, and love of real liberty, which never, at any time, or in any part of the kingdom, were so conspicuous as on this occasion, and which, while they demand my warmest gratitude for the past, are grounds of my unshaken reliance for the future, especially for the vigorous prosecution of those measures

" which are necessary finally to obtain that  
 " justice, of which, through the means re-  
 " sorted to by our adversaries, we are, for  
 " the present, deprived.—With sentiments  
 " of respect and affection never to be effac-  
 " ed from my heart, I remain, Gentlemen,  
 " your faithful and devoted Servant,

JAMES PAULL."

\*. I am glad to find, from the News-  
 papers of this day, that " A HISTORY OF  
 " THE WESTMINSTER AND MIDDLESEX  
 " ELECTIONS, in the month of November,  
 " 1806," is already in the press, and is to  
 include all the documents of every descrip-  
 tion relating to them; because I am sure  
 that the world has nothing to do but to see  
 those documents, to be convinced of the  
 justice of our cause, and of the strict pro-  
 priety of our conduct from the beginning  
 to the end.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT'S LETTER TO SAMUEL  
 WHITREAD, ESQ.

*From the Oracle.*

Dear Sir,—It was not till Monday I  
 first saw, in Lincolnshire, your letter to Sir  
 Francis Burdett, bearing date the 5th of this  
 month (see p. 760); since which, until the  
 present moment, I have not had time to ex-  
 press the sentiments to which it gave rise.  
 Being of opinion, that not only the provoca-  
 tion given by the Baronet to your political  
 party, but the retort it has produced, have  
 tendencies injurious to that country which  
 both, I am sure, sincerely desire to serve, I  
 shall exercise that fragment of liberty, which  
 is almost all that remains to us, to state to  
 you the grounds of my opinion. I lament  
 the conduct of both, and I hope both will  
 hear me with patience and candour.—When  
 the calamitous, and, as I must ever call it,  
 the pernicious ministry of Mr. Pitt, was suc-  
 ceeded by a ministry of which Mr. Fox was  
 the inspiring soul, the hope, the expectation,  
 the confident trust of English patriotism was  
 that the day was then near at hand when the  
 political liberty which it was the wish of his  
 grand mind might bless his species " all  
 over the world" should at least be fully re-  
 stored in England. If, Sir, month after  
 month was seen to elapse, without any inti-  
 mation being given of intended measures to  
 that end; if those months were not distin-  
 guished by proceedings to indicate a different  
 system of administration from that which  
 had brought upon us the heaviest calamities  
 and the greatest dangers; that which had  
 actually confiscated a part of our estates, by  
 the operation called " selling the Land Tax,"  
 and which had, for aught we could discover  
 to the contrary, also conveyed the remain-

der of our property to the King's Exchequer,  
 to be paid in, whenever it should be voted  
 by a House of Commons which *did not re-*  
*present the people*; if, Sir, this was our si-  
 tuation, could it surprise a gentleman, with  
 whom I had, some years ago, the honour of  
 belonging to the Society of the Friends of  
 the People, associated for a reformation of  
 parliament, that a man of Sir Francis Bur-  
 dett's acuteness of feeling, in whatever re-  
 gards the freedom of his country, should  
 give vent to the poignant emotions which  
 must have kept his ardent mind on the rack,  
 or should not even refrain from the language  
 of indignapt satire? To Mr. Whitbread's  
 heart I address myself for an answer. I am  
 not justifying the Baronet's want of patience,  
 I am not vindicating his want of temper.  
 As patience and temper are virtues, God  
 knows, of which we never stood more in  
 need, I wish they had more abounded; I  
 wish they had not obstructed his own road  
 to Parliament; I wish they had not excited  
 against him any unnecessary enmity or pre-  
 judice. Whatever might have been his dis-  
 pleasure towards men in office, whatever his  
 fears, whatever his suspicions, I still blame  
 him for not shewing more patience and more  
 temper. In his provocation to your politi-  
 cal friends, I think there was a censureable  
 defect of self-command. In your retort,  
 which may well pass for a state paper,  
 breathing the sentiments of your party, you  
 will pardon me, I doubt not, when I speak of  
 it as deficient in magnanimity.

Feelings of a genuine love of liberty; a  
 consciousness of intending that reform by  
 which alone it can be restored; a determi-  
 nation to execute with fidelity in power,  
 that for which, when out of power, you in  
 vain contended, might Sir, I humbly think,  
 have preserved in you a dignified silence at  
 the present moment, even under the provo-  
 cations of suspicions and reproach, rather  
 than have, in any degree, divided the friends  
 of reformation. Such a conduct was not  
 more than might have been expected from  
 men whose task it is, not merely to serve,  
 but to save their country.

Much, Sir, as your letter, penned in the  
 true manner of a gentleman, is to be ad-  
 mired, I would to God that, you had, on  
 this occasion, resembled the Lacedemonian,  
 whom not even blows could move to a re-  
 sentment hurtful to his country! Might you  
 not, Sir, even under the provocation of re-  
 proaches and sarcasms, with truth have no-  
 bly said—"The honest Baronet thinks us  
 tardy; he fears that coalitions have diluted  
 our public virtue; he suspects we are adding  
 one more instance to the many that have

gone before, in which the Circean taste of power has obliterated all remembrance of the former man; we must forgive him; we must bear with his anger; we know his inestimable value, and with what ardour he will support us when he finds us sincere. Let him anticipate our early exertions for restoring to the people their due weight in the legislature, by our favouring, in every way that is constitutional and honourable, his election for the metropolitan county of England! Then shall we have a noble revenge for the injury of his invectives!"

Give me leave, Sir, now to advert to that part of your letter in which you "utterly deny it to be an opinion founded in truth, that a person holding an office under the crown, however otherwise estimable, cannot at any time, become the fit representative of a free, incorrupt, and independent people." Here, Sir, I confess you have surprised me; and no less so, when you add that "the people, by the acceptance of the Baronet's doctrine, would reduce themselves to the hard necessity of being governed by the *worst of mankind*."

Not laying, Sir, any stress (for I despise cavil) upon an erroneous interpretation of Sir Francis's words, taken by you as extending "to exclude all the executive servants of government from seats in *either* House of Parliament," whereas they are confined to the "Representative," or Commons' House only; I must still express my astonishment, that the exclusion thought necessary by Sir Francis Burdett, namely, an exclusion of the *servants of the crown* from among the *representatives of the people*, should, by a patriot statesman, be represented as exposing that people "to the hard necessity of being governed by *the worst of mankind*;" and equally was I the other day astonished, in reading it as the declaration of another patriot statesman (Mr. Sheridan), that "such an exclusion was contrary to the *English constitution*," or words to that effect, for I quote from memory.

Does not Mr. Whitbread know, that in the Seventeen American Houses of Commons, *there sits not among the representatives of the people, a single placeman in the pay of the executive magistrate*? Are, then, I ask, all these seventeen American nations "governed by the *worst of mankind*?" Have we observed in that country any such mismanagement of its affairs, any such perversions of its constitution, any such underminings of its freedom, or any such flagrant corruptions, or abuses, as to indicate that it is "governed by the *worst of mankind*?" When those legislatures, without being as-

sisted by the wisdom of men in office, successively placed the executive sovereignty in the hands of a Washington, an Adams, and a Jefferson, did this bespeak a defect in their constitution, whereby "the people were reduced to the hard necessity of being governed by the *worst of mankind*?" The last-named of these presidents, some time since, informed the people under his authority, that such economy and order had been introduced, that the whole revenue of the United States was raised at their "*sea-board*," by custom-house duties on exports and imports; that is, on superfluities they sent out of, and luxuries they received into, their country; and that, from one end of the states to the other—states extending over an immense continent, *not a single tax-gatherer was to be seen*. Is this, again, a proof of their "being governed by the *worst of mankind*?" I should rather conceive these sublime facts which have hitherto been thrown away upon us, to prove, that when some of our persecuted ancestors retired beyond the Atlantic, they had the good sense to carry with them only the *purity* of the representative branch of the English constitution, leaving the *corrupt dregs* in the land where they had experienced their persecutions. Nothing can be more certain than that the magnificent facts to which I recal your recollection, are genuine emanations from the English constitution.

Let us now, Sir, view a humiliating contrast; let us suppose a country to exist, where every servile place-hunter, every unprincipled adventurer, every rapacious speculator on public plunder, at the signal of a general election, posts to a Borough to corrupt the electors; where the minister corrupts the pretended representatives, and they in return, corrupt and contaminate the whole executive government; where action and reaction are equally pernicious to the national morals, the national liberty, the national property. Must it not, Sir, I ask you, and I ask it with anguish, be, in such a country, and under such a system, that the people are most exposed to the misfortune of being "governed by the *worst of mankind*!"

My question, Sir, has the authority of melancholy experience. Your assumption is against fact and against reason. Contemplate, Sir, I beseech you, in one and the same view, a *Commons House* and a *Common Jury*; and disunite, if you can, the sacred principles of duty, on which a vote and a verdict ought ever, and ought alone to be given. Both are held in trust for the public. A verdict, Sir, you know cannot be sold for gain; no, nor even given to friend-

ship against duty, but with infamy. If this be so, where, for the most part, only an individual is injured, how infinitely stronger the argument in the case of a vote, by which injury may be done a whole nation and its posterity to the latest generation! For, Sir, if your English mind would revolt with horror at the thought of foisting into a jury, that was to decide a cause of a hundred pounds between you and another, your own hired servants, or pensioners living on your bounty, how can you reconcile it to any principle of integrity, or of the constitution, that a large proportion of the House of Commons should be servants and dependants in the pay of the crown to vote away the money of the people by millions? Neither Mr. Sheridan nor yourself, in pleading for this indefensible practice, have told us in what proportion it ought to prevail. Your inability to tell us this proportion will ever be a proof that the practice for which you (I trust unwarily) have become an advocate, is contrary to all constitutional principle; and if principle be to govern, if the English constitution be to be held sacred, not one placeman can you constitutionally make a representative of a free people. The things are in nature at variance; no man can serve two masters, occasionally in opposite interests, without failing in his duty to one or the other; in short, no man can serve God and Mammon.—To this monstrous inconsistency, to this gross absurdity, it is but too true, that corrupt habit on one hand, and a pretended impracticability of reform on the other, have too much reconciled our blunted our callous feelings; as the feelings of Jamaica planters are reconciled to the viewing with complacency fellow-men in slavery, tilling the sun-scorched soil under the terrors and the smart of the driver's lash!

Surely, Mr. Whitbread, it cannot be necessary to state to you, that a House of Commons which should be filled by genuine election, as free as pure; opening the doors of parliament to all the worth and wisdom of our country, against which they are now barred, and from which placemen, as *voting* members, should be totally excluded, would not cease to be the theatre of ambition, and the road to power! A theatre for the display of all the virtues and all the talents of the patriot and the statesman! Surely it cannot be necessary to observe to a man of your enlightened mind, that such a house must be infinitely more prolific of characters fit for the government of a free people, than a house liable to be filled, by the means I have noticed, with the most base and profligate of their species!

If, Sir, it were possible to extinguish in private life, the just influence of wealth well employed, such distinction would destroy the cements and the endearments of society; or if it were possible to extinguish in public life that influence of the crown which holds out rewards to public toil and public virtue, such extinction would be the curse of our country; but, Sir, in the same degree that we ought to preserve the just influence of private wealth or of public power, we ought to be jealous of the corrupt influence of either. In a House of Popular Representatives, every place, every pension, every emolument dependent on the will of the crown, that is held by a member, is a drop of poison in the legislative chalice.

But, Sir, a pure and truly Representative House of Commons would form men for the duties of government: at the same time that it nourished a love of liberty and patriot integrity, it would train genius and industry to public business, and create a host of statesmen. It would be there the crown would look for ministers and official servants; the House would exult in having furnished them; and the people would rejoice in being governed by the best of mankind. Thus, Sir, would the action and reaction of pure and free election, and of public virtue, prevent parliament from degenerating into servility and dependence, and the crown from becoming either a tempter of parliamentary integrity or a tyrant of the people.—There can be no objection to a Treasury Bench, or to a Naval, or Military, or any other Bench, having place in a House of Commons for purposes of state utility, to be occupied by servants of the crown; but that such persons should vote on questions between the crown and the people, touching either liberty or property, is a proposition too shocking to be entertained. Until a reformation, which is most devoutly to be wished, shall have been obtained, methinks, Sir, it would be but paying a decent homage to the real constitution of our country, should statesmen who hold places of great emolument under the Treasury, content themselves with representing the Boroughs of the Treasury.—For these reasons, Sir, although I am sorry to differ from a man I respect and honour, I certainly shall “assist” Sir Francis Burdett to the utmost of my power “in becoming a member of parliament.”

I have the honour to remain,  
Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant  
JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

MR. PAULLS' CORRESPONDENCE.  
The public have seen, in all the daily

prints, but particularly in the *Morning Chronicle*, garbled extracts from a correspondence between Mr. Paull and Marquis Wellesley, in India. The intention of these garbled extracts has been to cause the world to believe, Mr. Paull has, in the first place been *ungrateful* to the Marquis; and, in the next place, that he expressed, while in India his cordial approbation of *all* the Marquis's measures.—The following *two letters*, which are the *only* letters that ever passed between Mr. Paull and the Marquis, will enable the reader to judge of the fairness of these charges against Mr. Paull.—But, as an introduction to these two letters, I must insert, two, to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, the latter of which has appeared in that paper, but *not the former*.

*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*

MR. SPANKIE,—From the manner in which you have lately conducted the *Morning Chronicle*, and particularly, when I consider the unwarrantable conduct of Mr. Perry, who, before he got possession of the place he has been so long seeking, gladly inserted every article calculated to pourtray the true character and conduct of Lord Wellesley; but now, with you, joins in every infamous calumny against his accuser, for whom you formerly professed respect and esteem; I can ask no favour from you, I merely demand an act of justice. This act of justice, is, to insert the inclosed Letters with the preface to them in the *Chronicle* of Monday. Already you have given to the public garbled extracts from them, because you well knew that the insertion of the whole would not have reflected dishonour on me. They are the only letters which ever passed between me and Lord Wellesley, and will be seen to relate solely to commercial objects of a public nature. The only favour, if an act not to be refused without incurring the risk of punishment, can be called a favour, rendered to me by the Marquis Wellesley, was insisting (with the Nabob of Oude) on my return to Lucknow, where I had been permitted to go by the Court of Directors. This has been magnified into an obligation not to be repaid or forgotten, and I have been accused of ingratitude because I did not suffer such an act so to operate on my mind, as to make me forget my duty to my country, and to suffer tyranny and oppression to go unpunished. Let the people of England be my judges, to them I shall on every occasion be glad to refer my conduct. I never had a personal misunderstanding with Lord Wellesley, as has been so falsely reported, and I have inclosed you these letters that by publishing them the whole world

may be convinced I have no wish to shrink from inquiry, or to disclose every transaction of my public or private life.—The bearer will wait for your answer, and for the letters and preface, in case you should refuse their insertion.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,—J. PAULL.—*Nov. 10, 1806.*

*To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.*

SIR,—A great deal has been said by my opponents in and out of Parliament of my ingratitude to Lord Wellesley, and this censure has been pronounced on me, in consequence of a letter written by me to his lordship, in the year 1802. Extracts from this letter of the most partial nature, have been given to the public; in justice to myself, therefore, and that the nation may be acquainted with the real nature of the transaction, I send you the letter, with the answer to it, and shall shortly state the circumstances under which it was written, leaving you and your readers to form your own conclusions from it. They were printed by order of the House of Commons, and have been in the hands of all the members.—When I quitted Lucknow in 1801, where I had resided for 12 years, the Nabob of Oude was in possession of the whole of his territories. On my return to India, in 1802, having, previously to my leaving England, obtained permission from the Court of Directors to repair again to Lucknow, I found the Nabob's country in possession of the Company. With the usurpations and means which had been practised to obtain this possession, I was wholly unacquainted, as was I with the other acts of aggression and oppression committed by Lord Wellesley in that country. From personal pique the Nabob of Oude wished me not to return; this will sufficiently shew, that my connection with that Prince was as imaginary as that now imputed to me with the Emperor Napoleon and his 500,000 mercenaries. I demanded of Lord Wellesley to be sent thither, and as an act of justice this was granted me. Finding that great obstructions were put in the way of my commercial pursuits in the ceded territories, I, a few days afterwards, addressed this celebrated letter to Lord Wellesley; and, fresh with the recollection of what had been recently done by him, I, who am not totally devoid of feelings of sensibility, made use of the expression in the latter part of my letter, which has been urged against me as an inconsistency with my future conduct. I leave the world to judge how far it is inconsistent, and to say whether an act of justice in my commercial engagements should prevent my af-

terwards becoming the accuser of a person whom I regarded as one of the greatest delinquents which perhaps ever existed in this or any other country.—I am, Sir, &c.

Nov. 16, 1806.

JAMES PAULL.

*Copy of a Letter from the Persian Secretary to the Governor General, dated 17th September, 1802, to the Vizier, relative to Mr. Paull.*

I have had the honour to receive your Excellency's letter (recapitulate his Excellency's letter on the subject of Mr. Paull.)—Agreeably to your Excellency's desire, I have communicated the contents of that letter to his Excellency the most noble the Governor General, who has directed me to state to your Excellency in reply, that previously to the receipt of your Excellency's letter, his Lordship had been induced by the information which he received of the regularity and propriety of Mr. Paull's conduct during his former residence at Lucknow, to grant him permission to return to that station, for the purpose of prosecuting his mercantile concerns; his Excellency was further induced to grant that permission by the consideration that those concerns are calculated to benefit your Excellency's country, by encouraging industry and by promoting the interests of commerce within your Excellency's dominions.—Under these circumstances his Lordship confidently trusts that your Excellency will be disposed to permit Mr. Paull to remain at Lucknow, unless any acts of misconduct on the part of Mr. Paull, of which his Excellency is not apprized, should appear to your Excellency to merit that destruction to Mr. Paull's just and equitable prospects which must be the consequence of his being prohibited from remaining at Lucknow in the prosecution of the beneficial objects of commerce.

*Copy of a letter from Mr. Paull to the Marquis Wellesley, K. P. Governor General, &c. Dated Lucknow, Dec. 5th, 1802.*

MY LORD,—Although incessantly engaged in the affairs of a most mighty Empire, I am, however, well aware that the concerns of an humble individual are not beneath your Excellency's notice.—I have, my lord, for many years carried on extensive concerns in Oude, and for the ensuing twelve months I reckon my exports from the Vizier's country will be at least fifteen lacks of rupees.—On re-commencing my business, after a short absence in Europe, I find myself, however, reluctantly under the necessity of representing to the notice of your Excellency, a very vexatious and truly

grievous hardship in the present mode of collecting the Company's Duties at their Custom houses within the provinces.—By an express article of the commercial treaty, which I understand from the Vizier's government is still in force, the Nabob's Rowanrah is therein laid down as the rule for the Company's Custom-Masters to levy the duties on exports from Oude: I am aware at the same time, that in July last, government in its wisdom passed a regulation, which however has never been promulgated, empowering the Custom-Masters to alter the old and to substitute a new mode of valuation. To this regulation it is my duty to yield submission; and it is the mode only of carrying the government regulations into execution of which I presume to complain to your excellency.—Notwithstanding that I accompany my dispatches with the actual and bona fide prices of my exports: to these the Custom Masters will pay no attention: they stop the boats, unpack as many bales as they choose; they carry a number of pieces of cloth from the boats to a distance, and affix an exact an arbitrary undefined rate: in a word, my Lord, it is left to the wisdom or caprice of their native servants to affix what duty they choose upon articles on which government have defined no express rate of duty for their guidance.—The hardship alone, my Lord, of unpacking bales at three different custom-houses (and they are subject to it at Juanpore, Ghauzipore, and Patna) which are carefully made up in unfavourable weather, or, indeed, in any weather, is of itself a most serious evil: but the consequent delays that must inevitably attend the new system, and the heavy arbitrary undefined valuation put upon property, (and moreover, my Lord, one transaction forms no guide for me to go by, to prevent recurrences of to these evils, for each valuation of the same sort of goods differs from another) are drawbacks and impediments that no commerce can thrive under, and I humbly presume to say, totally incompatible with that excessive wise, liberal, and enlightened policy, that marks every act of the administration of your excellency.—Permit me, my Lord, with diffidence, to suggest that it would prove very beneficial to government, and would remedy at the same time the hardships of which I complain, were the duties in some manner defined: and at all events, those on goods intended for Calcutta, collected at the first government custom-house at which the Oude exports apply for clearance. To this mode I believe no objection could be offered, whilst the present system is open to unan-

swerable ones; the reason for establishing Custom-houses at Juanpore, Benares, Chauzipore, and Patna, is sufficiently obvious; it was to prevent the passing of goods by the Ganges, Gograh, or Goomtie, without paying the regulated duties; but there seems to be no substantial reason for levying a duty of 5 per cent. at separate custom-houses; and as the two custom-masters pay no attention to the valuation of each other, the rate of duties is no longer five per cent. The custom-masters by this mode get a dividend, and sometimes a higher commission, but government is not benefited, and the public greatly injured.—I trust the great interest I have at stake, will plead my pardon for this address to your Excellency to whom I with confidence leave my case, trusting if the provisions of the treaty are no longer in force, that some system will be adopted to render unnecessary the unpacking of goods. The consequent delays at the custom-houses, and the arbitrary, heavy, and capricious valuation of a native appraiser, are grievances that I am persuaded only require representation to ensure redress from your Excellency, to whom no man ever complained in vain, that complained with justice. With an indelible sense of past obligations, with great consideration, and the highest respect, I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

(Signed) JAMES PAULL

HAMPSHIRE ELECTION.

*To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Southampton.*

GENTLEMEN,—Defeated, but not dismayed, I feel a higher sense of exultation in the disinterested zeal and exertions which have followed me to the close of the poll, than I could derive from the successful issue of a contest obtained by the undue preponderance of ministerial influence, and in defiance of the general feelings and wishes of a great majority of the independent freeholders of the county.—The gross, undisguised, and unconstitutional manner in which every department of the executive government connected with this county, has interfered in the choice of your representatives is unexampled in the history of this country. Notorious as these facts are, they cannot fail to have excited a deep and lasting indignation in the breast of every independent freeholder; and, should a reference to the poll prove that the majority which has secured the return of the successful candidates is not equal to the number of the immediate dependents on government who have been brought to vote in

their favour, I leave it to your decision whether they are the representatives of the county at large, or of the Dock Yard at Portsmouth—for my own part, I feel little disappointment in the issue of the contest: I had no political purpose to answer; I had no private ambition to gratify. Called on as I was, in a manner the most honourable to you and highly flattering to my own personal feelings, I willingly submitted myself as an instrument in your hands to assert your independence, and vindicate the insult which you had sustained. I felt that I embarked in the common cause of every gentleman, yeoman, and freeholder, who respected his own consequence, or considered the free exercise of his elective franchise as a valuable inheritance; and I retire from the contest with the proud satisfaction of having discharged my duty, and exempted from the reproach of having surrendered your dearest rights without a struggle. I have, however, the gratification to believe, that, although we may have failed in the full accomplishment of our object, our efforts have not been altogether unsuccessful: the great preponderance of the landed property that has appeared in our favour, and the formidable resistance which your exertions have enabled us to present to the weight of ministerial interference has, I am confident, laid the foundation of the future emancipation of the county, and will finally ensure its independence. It has afforded a lesson to ministers, that, notwithstanding their local influence, they may be assured, that every effort to extinguish our spirit will be fruitless, and that any future attempt to control the free choice of our representatives will terminate in their own disgrace, confusion, and discomfiture. I trust that you will not for a moment lose sight of the important object we have in view: that you will neither abate your zeal nor relax your exertions till you have rescued our native county from the degraded state of a ministerial borough, and restored to our fellow freeholders the constitutional privilege of sending to parliament the objects of their free choice.—Deeply involved in the welfare and prosperity of the county of which I have the honor to represent no unimportant part, I shall not cease to watch over your interests in parliament with anxiety, and vigilance; and when the hour of honorable struggle shall again arrive, I shall be found at my post.—I have the honor to be, with the deepest gratitude, your most faithful servant, H. P. ST. JOHN MILNER.

*Eastgate-House, Nov. 18, 1806.*

## FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

*Thirteenth Bulletin, concluded from p. 800.*

Of one hundred and sixty thousand men, whom the King of Prussia had, it would be difficult to unite more than 50,000, and those without artillery and without baggage, partly armed and partly disarmed. All these events justify what the Emperor said in his first proclamation, in which he expressed himself thus, "Let them learn that although it is easy to acquire an increase of dominion and of power by means of the friendship of a great people, its enmity is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean."—Nothing, indeed, resembles more the present state of the Prussian army than a shipwreck. It was a fine and numerous fleet, which pretended to nothing less than to sweep the seas; but the impetuous north wind has raised the ocean against it. There only returns to port a small part of the crews, who have only found security by saving themselves upon the wreck. The subjoined letters truly depict the situation of affairs. Another letter, also subjoined, shews in what respect the Prussian cabinet was duped by false appearances. It took the moderation of the Emperor Napoleon for weakness.—Because that monarch did not wish for war, and did every thing that could be suitably done to avoid it, it was concluded that he was not prepared, and that he wanted 200,000 conscripts to recruit his army.—The French army, however, was no longer cooped up in the camps of Boulogne, it was in Germany, and M. Charles L. de Hesse, and M. de Haugwitz might have counted it. We recognize, therefore, the will of that Providence, which leaves not to our enemies eyes to see, ears to hear, or judgment or reason to guide their conduct.—It appears that M. Charles L. de Hesse only coveted Mayence. Why not Metz? why not the other places to the east of France? Tell us, then, no longer, that the ambition of the French forced you to take up arms; confess that it is your own ill-judged ambition that has excited you to war. Whilst there was a French army in Naples, and another in Dalmatia, you projected to fall upon the great people, but in seven days your projects have been confounded. You wished to attack France, without running any risk, and already you have ceased to exist.—It is stated that the Emperor Napoleon, having, before he quitted Paris, assembled his ministers, said to them, "I am innocent of this war; I have done nothing to provoke; it did not enter into my calculations. Let me be defeated if it is of my making. One of the principal motives of the confidence which I have, that my enemies will be destroyed is, that I see

in their conduct the finger of Providence, who, wishing that traitors may be punished, has so far set aside all wisdom in their councils, that when they design to attack me at the moment of weakness, they chuse the time when I am the strongest."

## DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

**BUENOS AYRES.**—Order of Council for opening a Trade with Buenos Ayres and its Dependencies.—Concluded from p. 704.

And whereas information has been received, that the commander of his Majesty's forces, to whom the said city, town, and fortress have surrendered, has reduced the duties on importation into the same, from about thirty-four and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, to ten per cent. *ad valorem* and two and a half per cent. for the consulate or municipal duties, making, in the whole, twelve and one half per cent. on all articles imported into the said place and its dependencies, in British ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law; or in ships *bonâ fide* belonging to any of the subjects or native inhabitants of the said city, town, or territories, such native inhabitants being peaceably resident within the same, and under the obedience of his Majesty's government there; his Majesty is thereupon pleased to order and declare, that the said reduced duties shall continue to be levied, and no other, on all articles so imported, with the exception of German linens, which are to continue to be subject to the same duties as were paid thereon before the conquest of the said place by his Majesty's arms, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further signified;—and it is hereby further ordered, that it shall not be lawful for any slave or slaves to be landed, or imported, upon pain that all slaves so landed, imported, or brought, together with the vessels bringing in the same, or from which the same shall be landed, and their cargoes, shall become forfeited to his Majesty, his heirs and successors:—Provided always, that this prohibition shall not extend to the several cases of slaves *bonâ fide* employed in navigating any ships trading to or from the said, or of slaves *bonâ fide* employed as domestic slaves, and coming into the said place with their masters; or of slaves in any manner employed in his Majesty's naval or military service:—And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein as to them may respectively appertain.

W. FAWKNER.